

797 But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to
 778 encourage its departure are strictly shamanic. A young couple's mar-
 585 riage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre,
 785 but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce
 the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the
 whole community is also native.

772 Barvet could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed
 774 to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered
 on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits,
 some malignant and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting
 human happiness and goals.

775 Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness.
 For this a *shaman* is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he
 drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The
shaman also may seek out the cause of illness.

776 Almost anyone can become a *shaman* by undergoing intensive training
 777 and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestina-
 tion" for this career, though Barvet was apparently unable to get enough
 information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time
 professional.

778 Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a
 force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventu-
 779 ally death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and
 the paraphernalia of the Cayapa shaman and that of the Highland medi-
 cing man.

THE COLORADO

780 The Colorado, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tatchela* or
 Tatchela Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last
 surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The
 two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and
 forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways
 of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing.
 Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and
 one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They
 have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and
 they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation
 system known as *concehaje*. The area they occupy on the upper reaches
 of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western
 part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in
 recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened
 which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the High-
 lands.

586 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion
684 and castigation by the officials, offenders against the
divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely
and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior
of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to
582 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the
684 open violation of either the laws of divorce or those
governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of
such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate
almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws
requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly
produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In
fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community
of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards
are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death
is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent
• 753 spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various
776 means. For instance, they may be placed by some
[754] malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it
wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly
into the body as one passes some particular spot believed
to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding
spirits.

774 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the
775 soul. One informant maintained that there are numer-
177 ous souls, each residing in a different part of the body;
that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

MEDICINE PRACTICES. SHAMANISM

- 753 Among the Cayapa practically all illness is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits. In large measure [778] the particular spirits which cause illness reside in small, black, water-worn stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, in mammals, snakes, insects, and the like.

By the entering of one of these spirits into the body of an individual, and especially, as is usually the case, if one of the mentioned objects which is the special abode of this spirit enters also, a serious and often fatal illness results. This illness may take the form of any one of the numerous diseases common to the tropics.

There are various ways in which one of these spirits may enter the body. It may, for instance, enter directly into the body itself as the individual is passing the abode of the spirit, or it may enter the soul of the person which, while he sleeps, is traveling about the earth. In the latter case the spirit, on the return of the individual's soul, is taken into the body and the same symptoms and illness result as when it enters directly without the medium of the soul.

- 755 In almost every case a cure may be effected, provided a competent shaman is called in time. Each shaman has his own method of treatment, but in general these methods are similar and consist of (1) whistling and singing to call certain guardian spirits to the shaman's aid; (2) when these spirits have been summoned, the affected part of the body is sprayed with a decoction of rum and bejuco, and is massaged and rubbed with the hands or is sucked with the lips in order to draw through

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THE SOUL

The soul, called *ku'mt*, inhabits every human body 774
as well as the bodies of certain other animate beings.
In general it has the form of the body that it inhabits,
and has the power of leaving the body during sleep and
of traveling about at will. In their travels the souls
visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends,
etc., and are subject to considerable danger while thus
wandering about. A shaman with malicious intent 754
may by his magic summon one of these wandering souls
and, by appearing friendly, may gain its confidence
sufficiently to induce it to drink *chicha*, thus partially
intoxicating it and enabling him to insert within it a
pebble, a snake, an insect, or some other object which
will work ill. On returning to its body, the soul takes
with it this malevolent object, which also enters the
body. As a result, illness follows almost immediately
and the person dies within a short time, usually at or
just before sunset, unless properly and promptly doctored
by a shaman. Such illness is said to resemble an attack 753
due to a natural cause, which is to say that it resembles
an attack caused by the entrance of similar objects
into the body by means other than through the agency
of the soul; for it must be remembered that all illness
other than that resulting from wounds, bruises, or other
visible external means, is attributed to the presence of
one or more of these magic objects in the body. It is
said that fevers, for instance, which result from the
presence in the body of these malevolent objects brought
to it by means of the soul, cannot be distinguished in

753 their symptoms from fevers resulting from drinking
 [169] water in a new region. This alludes to the fact that in
 this region it almost invariably happens, even with
 people in perfect health, that if they travel from the
 coast into the interior mountains, or vice versa, they
 become ill for a short time with a fever of greater or
 lesser gravity. This is attributed directly to the
 change of drinking water, though in the Cayapa mind
 there is here also a direct connection with spirits.

754 A still greater danger to the soul as it travels about
 775 during sleep arises when a shaman sets a trap or a dead-
 fall at any point he thinks a soul is likely to pass. If
 the soul gets into this trap or deadfall, it is killed, so to
 speak, and its owner never awakens. The soul itself,
 being immortal, later escapes from the trap or deadfall
 and passes on with its future existence, but once the life
 has left the body which it formerly inhabited, the soul
 is never able to return to it.

775 After death, souls travel about as they do in sleep,
 frequenting for a time special burial places and the homes
 which their bodies formerly inhabited. They would, if
 unmolested, continue indefinitely to go about their
 former haunts, but, owing to the danger to the living
 from their presence, means are taken to expel them.
 The expulsion of these souls, as also of malevolent
 spirits, by one or more shamans has been described in
 detail in speaking of medicine practices.

776 By many it is claimed that certain mammals, birds,
 reptiles, and other animate objects do not possess souls,
 but by others it is claimed that every animate object
 has a soul. Inanimate objects, such as waterworn

776 He always has stored large quantities of the eggs of these birds, especially those of the large species of grouse known locally as perdiz. The house furnishings are similar to those of the Cayapa, except that the coiled equis, a very poisonous snake, is ordinarily used for a bench or seat, while the coiled boa is used as a receptacle for serving food.

In personal appearance the bû"tcûlya is similar to the Cayapa, except in color. By some he is said to be whiter and of a more reddish cast than the Cayapa, but by most his face is said to be bright yellow, for the reason that he paints it all over with yellow achote. It is claimed that the rest of the body is not painted. The women bû"tcûlya are said to be very beautiful and to have long flowing hair. By some it is claimed that the bû"tcûlya have bodies of normal form, but by most informants they are said to have no buttocks or anus, and hence are unable to defecate. For this reason they never eat, but gain sustenance from the water they drink, and especially from the steam and aroma arising from boiling meat and other foods. Although unable to defecate, they can urinate and hence are able to drink water and inhale steam. Their genital organs are perfect, but they are incapable of sexual intercourse except in bright moonlight.

753 In ancient times the bû"tcûlya were much feared by the Cayapa because the sight of one of them would bring illness and ultimate death, and also because they would steal children and even adults. In more recent times, however, it is claimed that they do not steal people, but confine their depredation to dogs, pigs, and chickens, and the vegetal foods raised by the Cayapa.

776 carry people away bodily at the present time, they nevertheless entice them to their caves, but this is said to be done out of a spirit of sociability and not with the desire of doing them bodily violence, though there is considerable danger attached to a visit to such a cave. These spirits, though ordinarily invisible, have the power to make themselves visible to human beings at will and when a person is off in the jungle, or in any lonely place, he is likely to be visited by a bū'tcūlya and invited to return with the spirit to his cave. If he goes and enters only the outer chamber of the cave, he can return, but if he is enticed into the inner chambers, escape is impossible, for these are guarded by vicious jaguars and pumas. On entering an outer chamber a guest usually is invited to sit upon a bench consisting of a coiled equis, and is offered food upon plates made of coiled boas. Stories are told of people who, on falling asleep or becoming intoxicated in some lonely spot, have been enticed into one of these caves by a bū'tcūlya and have seen and experienced various things in the outer chamber and yet have escaped and returned home. After such an experience a person is likely to become ill, and if not properly doctored by a shaman will ultimately urinate blood and then die. Merely to see and to talk with a bū'tcūlya, however, is not of itself fatal as is the case with some other classes of spirits.

• [753] An experience is related by a Cayapa who once had occasion to make a canoe at a place back in the hills and far from his house, so that it was impossible for him to return home every day. He therefore, as is customary, built near his work a small "rancho," or temporary house,

776 and birds, all very large and fat, which he kept as pets. He then invited the old man to sit upon his bench, which was a coiled equis, but the old man declined. He then offered him a cup of champo, a drink made of corn, the cup being a coiled boa. Again the old man declined. The spirit then invited him to go enter the inner chambers of the cave, but on approaching these the old man found them guarded by jaguars tied at each side of the entrance, which so frightened him that he did not dare to proceed. He had not gone more than about twenty-five feet into the cave, so was enabled later to escape. He sat in the outer chamber for some time, and talked with the bū"tcūlya, who explained his mode of life, how he obtained his food, and various facts concerning himself and this class of spirits, all of which the old man related on returning home. This old man returned the same day; but in the case of another Cayapa who was enticed into a cave of the bū"tcūlya, he was detained for three days, but the spirit was not able to induce him to enter one of the inner chambers. During his entire stay the spirit from time to time offered him foods of various kinds upon plates made of coiled serpents, all of which he refused. At the end of the third day he was permitted to return home, although he was much more dead than alive from the ordeal through which he had passed. The man almost immediately became ill, his body was covered with sores, and in the course of a week he urinated blood and died. After such a protracted visit to the cave of one of these spirits, death is almost certain.

[753] That the mammals and birds kept by the bū"tcūlya spirits in their caves are so large is said to be because

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Some dance on their feet, some on their hands, and some on two long fleshy projections like horns or ears which grow on top of the head, but which are quite different from the ears of men. These spirits are about the size of the Cayapa, and live in family groups in their village as do human beings. Their skin is very black, and their hair kinky and bushy. The mothers carry their babies upside down on their backs. The women wear simply a black skirt, while the dress of the men consists of short trousers reaching almost to the knees, and a reddish short-sleeved shirt. In the mountain region nearer to the home of the ūra'tū they are a great menace to the people, since they steal human beings bodily, and merely to see one of them assures illness of some kind and probably death in a short time. [753]•

KŪ'ME

Another dangerous class of spirits is the kŭ'me, who live in the mountains and in deep pools in the river. These are described as being of about the size and general appearance of human beings, but with very black skin. The kŭ'me always go about with their heads thrown far back, so that they face the sky and are unable to look forward. They travel late in the afternoon and at night, and are in the habit of pursuing people who are out at such times. If a person is caught by one of the spirits, and especially if he is hugged by the spirit or if the spirit's breath touches his body, illness is sure to follow and death is certain unless the patient is properly treated by a shaman. These spirits are entirely invisible

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- 753 to ordinary human beings, and when they attack a person
 776 they remain with him throughout his illness and until death, when they snatch the soul as it is departing from the body and carry it away. They may be seen and driven away, however, by shamans who have drunk of the decoction of rum and bejuco, and who are able to chant the proper incantations.

PI'TCÜLYA

- 776 Especially dangerous to canoeists are the pi'tcülya, a class of spirits which live in caves in the bed-rock at the bottom of deep pools and at various places along the banks of rivers. In these caves the families of pi'tcülya live in the same relations as do those of the Cayapa. Their women are especially beautiful and all have very long flowing hair. In the evening and at night, especially if the moon is bright, these spirits rise to the surface of the water and sport about, and it is at such times that the danger to canoeists in passing is greatest, since to see one of these spirits, and especially to approach so near that the spirit may blow its breath upon one, assures a severe attack of fever and is likely to cause death, although the patient may be cured by a shaman. The
- 776 753 pi'tcülya women wear a black skirt, and the men employ the same kind of clout and shirt as those of Cayapa men. All wear very large necklaces of various objects made by the prehistoric inhabitants of the region. Both sexes paint yellow all exposed parts of the body. Like certain other spirits, they are unable to eat solid food, but subsist on the steam and aroma rising from cooking fish.

776 of the river takes its course, thus traversing a distance of five miles or more in reaching the same level that the smaller and more rapid stream reaches in a comparatively few feet. It is this long bow in the main stream which gives this point on the river the name of La Herradura, "the horseshoe." During periods when the water of the river is at the ordinary level, the shorter stream is small, but in times of flood it is a raging torrent. By the time the water has run its short course and reenters the main stream, it attains a high velocity and shoots a powerful, billowy current far out into the main stream which here widens into a deep basin. At the sides of this current are numerous eddies, and often great logs and even whole trees are held by them and whirled about for hours, in which process large limbs are twisted from trunks and everything fragile is splintered into bits. It is impossible for a canoe to pass through this pool at such a time; it is, in fact, none too safe to skirt the extreme edge of the pool opposite the torrent which enters it, on account of swirling logs. It is small wonder, then, that the Cayapa should conceive some great supernatural force to be hidden in this pool. It is said that up to within the last few years there lived in this pool a school of immense bright-red fish, which were a constant menace to travelers. Even to see one of these fish assured the illness of a person, and death was almost sure to follow. Still more dangerous was it to touch one of them. These monsters had a trick of floating as if dead upon the surface of the pool, especially when the water was at normal level and the surface reasonably calm. Curiosity of passers-by sometimes tempted them to paddle near

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enough to take a good look at the red object, or even to touch it, either of which proved fatal. At last, however, some powerful shamans visited the pool and by their incantations were able to impound the fish in a cave in the bed-rock at its bottom. They then sealed the mouth of the cave, it is said by some, with iron, so that for some years the pool has been passed without harm. However, there is still fear that the fish may some day break their bonds and again come to the surface and menace the lives of canoemen.

PI PI'NI

While there are many large pools along the Rio Cayapas which are given the general Spanish name charco, there is one so large and important that it is always known as El Charco. This is situated at a point about three miles down-stream from the confluence with the Rio Onzole. It was the former habitation of a kind of dangerous fish, or serpent, called pi pi'ni, literally "water serpent," concerning which the following story is told:

In former times El Charco was much larger than at present, covering the plain now adjacent to it and reaching from hill to hill on each side. Here lived an especially large pi pi'ni, which devoured everything coming down the river. It had a mouth twenty fathoms wide, and everything, including all driftwood and even entire trees that floated down-stream, was consumed by the monster. Within this great serpent there was an immense dry area in which accumulated all the logs and trees that

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /ññi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

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maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

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